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PRESENT EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF TOTO TRIBES LIVING IN DOOARS

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

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Abstract

Totopara is a small village under Madarihat-Birpara block of Alipurduar district, they are one of Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group (PVTG) of West Bengal. This study has shed light on their present education scenario including its history. For this, we have followed ethnographic case study approach and employed focus-group discussion with the secondary level Toto students to select some of them as the participants of the study and later collected data from them along with their parents, teachers, political representatives, resource persons, folk artists, educated Toto youths and many more people through semi-structured interviews and participant observation. After collecting all the data, we have transcribed them, coded them as per my research questions and based on the similarities as well as differences three main themes have been generated such as academic factors, socioeconomic and cultural factors and lastly family related factors as the reasons behind their educational hardship followed by some suggestions to improve the situation.

Keywords: Toto Tribe, Educational Development, Problems

Introduction

In West Bengal, Dooars is well known for its tea gardens, forested lands and home to many tribal communities like Mech, Toto, Rava, Garo, Bhutia, Nepali and many more, among them, the Totos are considered as the least developed in this region (Das, 2024; Bhattacharya, 2023; Jamal et al., 2021; Debnath et al., 2019; Hoque & Ansar, 2015; Dawn, 2014) and also identified as one of the Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group (PVTG) along with Birhor and Lodha. They reside exclusively in Totopara, a remote village in the Madarihat-Birpara block of the Alipurduar district, West Bengal. Belonging to the Mongoloid race, they are considered a primitive tribe, the first recorded mention of the Totos was made by British official Krishna Kanta Basu in 1815 in "Political Missions to Bootan" (Daw, 2015: Dutta, 2014 and Bishnu, 2012). Research shows that they were historically enslaved by the Bhutanese, compelled to work without wages in a system called "Hui-hwa." and later sent to India during the Anglo-Bhutan war and eventually settled in Totopara (Sanyal, 1973; Majumder, 1993; Bishnu, 2012; Daw, 2015: Jamal et al., 2021). The village spans 3.12 square miles (Roy Burman, 1959), also known as Laxmi Duar or Lucky Duar (Das, 2024). The area situated between 250 and 500 meters above sea level, is bordered by the Torsha River to the east and the Titi Reserve Forest to the west and south (Biswas, 2009). The village itself is positioned between latitude 89° 21′ and longitude 26° 51′, with the Haori River separating it from the Titi Forest (Roy Burman, 1959; Sanyal, 1973; Bishnu, 2012). According to the 2011 census, Totopara had a population of 2,711, with 1,170 Totos (635 males and 535 females). UNESCO has classified the Toto language as critically endangered, which has led the community to prioritise using their native language for communication (Sarkar, 2022). Efforts to improve education in Totopara began in 1951 with the involvement of voluntary organizations and government agencies. The "Bharat Mahajati Mandali" played a key role in establishing a welfare centre for primary education among Toto and Nepali students, funded by the government. However, the project faced setbacks, including the disappearance of the first Welfare Organiser, Jogendra Sarkar, which led to the abandonment of the initiative in 1955. A police picket was later set up, and officers took on the task of educating Toto boys using Bengali, leading to an increase in participation from the Toto community while Nepali children gradually withdrew due to language issues. When the police picket was eventually removed, some members of the Toto community built a hut in the Totopara Bajar area and hired a Nepali teacher, Dilbahadur Rana, both the Toto and Nepali communities voluntarily contributed to this initiative (Majumder, 1993). Rana was later appointed as an Assistant Welfare Organizer-cum-Teacher, but due to his lack of enthusiasm, students lost interest and stopped attending school (Roy Burman, 1959; Majumder, 1993). Majumder (1993) noted that Rana resigned in 1957, and five others: Dr. Ashis Dutta, Bhagaban babu, Bangshi babu, Manotosh Sarkar, and Ruben Basumatary were appointed as Welfare Organisers and Assistant Welfare Organisers. However, they were preoccupied with personal matters, rendering these efforts ineffective, later Santosh

Bhattacharjee was appointed to the same role on January 2, 1964, followed by Gharma Prasad Sarma as his assistant on July 15, 1965, they taught both Toto and Nepali students in Bengali. Despite their efforts, Bhattacharjee was disheartened to find that, over two decades, only 15 to 16 Toto individuals had learned to sign their names, leading him to consider them one of India's most educationally disadvantaged tribes.

The "Lutheran World Health Service," a Swedish Mission, intervened in 1967, taking Toto boys to Rampur Mission Centre for vocational training and established "Toto Kalyan Bidyamandir" in 1969-70, appointed John Ekka as a primary teacher, after his resignation, Anugraha Ekka took over. The school received government recognition in 1972, leading to the appointment of Haren Saiba as Headmaster in 1973, with Samuel Tikka as his assistant. When Tikka was transferred, Parinita Mankhin joined in 1974, working voluntarily until 1985, after which she was regularized by the government. In 1980, the mission established a Junior High School named "Dhanapati Junior High School" and two Adult Education Centres between 1976 and 1980. At least 20 Toto students including many female students received opportunities to study outside the community with the Swedish Mission's support (Majumder, 1993; Daw, 2015). Between 1984 and 1989, the mission constructed another primary school using bamboo, but it was completely destroyed by a cyclone in 1989. The Indian government established an ashram hostel to provide tribal students with free accommodation, books, uniforms, and other essentials (Chaudhuri & Deutscher, 1993). Another primary school was set up in Poargaon under the Integrated Development Project, and in 1977, three teachers were recruited by the District School Board (Majumder, 1993). Later, a Christian Oraon couple founded an English-medium nursery school named "S.B.A Mission English School" at Dhaniram Toto's rented house, with 28 students, only two of them were Totos (Majumder, 1993). Additionally, the West Bengal government's Social Education Department set up five non-formal education centres between 1989 and 1990 (Majumder, 1993). A rural library was established in 1992, Bimal Toto was recruited as its librarian (Dutta, 2014; Das, 2024). In addition, some educated Totos developed "Toto Kalyan Samiti" to preserve their cultural heritage, address superstitions, and promote literacy including six adult education centres and four night schools (Majumder, 1993). The Totos have also formed their own organization, "Toto Debo Group," to promote self-reliance (Lhamu, 2018). The Padmashri awardee of the village authored two books in the Toto language while retired bank employee and Toto poet has published a trilingual dictionary, "Toto Shabda Sangraha," in collaboration with the University of Calcutta, still Nepali and Hindi remain dominant in the village (Das, 2024). Formal education was introduced there after 1960, still their literacy rates remained low. By 2011, only 30.35% of Totos were literate, with male literacy at 36.36% and female literacy at 23.53% (Das, 2024). Factors such as language barriers, lack of local teachers, and parental unawareness contributed to these challenges (Hoque & Ansar, 2015). Chaudhuri & Deutscher (1993) found that Toto students struggle with education because their mother tongue is not used for instruction, and textbooks primarily reflect urban or plain life, making the learning process more challenging for them. Furthermore, studies also indicated that economic hardships, low female literacy rates, and parents' lack of awareness hinder educational progress (Debnath et al., 2019; Das (2024). Socio-economic conditions vary across Totopara, with some areas like Panchayatgaon and Subbagaon being better developed due to better road connectivity and frequent official visits by government officials. In contrast, Mitran Gaon, Dhumci Gaon, and Puja Gaon lag behind (Dutta, 2014; Majumder, 1993). Despite their limited exposure to the outside world, they have made some progress in education as Sanjit Toto became the first male graduate in 1999, followed by Rita Toto in 2010 (Daw, 2015).

Objectives

The main objectives of this study are as following:

- To know the present educational condition of Totopara.
- To understand the educational problems, they are facing currently.

Methodology

Ethnographic case study design was chosen to get an in-depth understanding of the educational problems that Totos face regularly. To understand the present educational context, researcher visited all the local schools within the village: one high school, two government-run primary schools and two private English medium primary level schools. Initially focus group discussion with secondary-level students of the only high school called Dhanapati Toto Memorial High School was conducted. Later few of them were chosen for the semi-structured interview based on their view, experience, knowledge regarding the community and their residential area. Apart from the local students those Toto students who have lived outside since childhood were also included to get an overall view. In this way, ten Toto students including their parents were selected and also interviewed. The only Padmashri awardee of the village, current panchayat, teachers of each school, local educated youths, folk artist and other communities living there were also interviewed to know about the entire perspective of their livelihood. Data have been collected through semi-structured interviews, observation, visual materials, government reports etc. and later analysed qualitatively using Braun and Clarke's Thematic Method.

Research Ethics

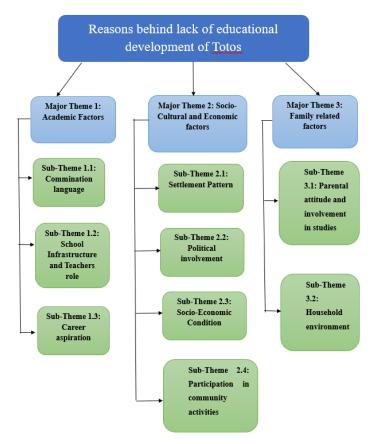
All the gathered data was secured from the relevant school authorities, and all participants were informed before about the interview recordings. They had the freedom to withdraw from the interviews at any point if they chose to. Furthermore, to safeguard their privacy, all their names have been changed during the data analysis process.

Findings

Themes

Qualitative analysis requires researchers thoroughly familiarize themselves with the data to identify patterns, themes, and relationships (Kawulich and Garner, 2009). To achieve this, all participant's related data was transcribed, reviewed multiple times for deeper understanding, and then coded based on the research questions. Themes were developed by identifying commonalities, unique insights, and exclusive perspectives. From the analysis of transcripts, key themes emerged, closely aligned with the research questions. These themes include:

- Academic Factors
- Sociocultural and Economic Factors
- Family Related Factors



Theme 1: Academic factor

Here the following factors have come out as reasons behind Toto student's academic underdevelopment: communication language, infrastructure and lack of teachers in local schools and lastly their career aspirations as sub-themes.

Sub-Theme 1.1: Communication language

Language is essential for academic success, as it is the medium of instruction. Those who study in the local Bengali medium government schools, often struggle to find the right words, so they mix Nepali, Hindi, and Bengali to complete a sentence. However, we found those who have studied Bengali medium residential schools outside since childhood, have a clearer Bengali accent while those who studied English medium schools outside, struggle in their mother tongue to communicate with other Totos. Initially, both of them struggled with the language as their parents couldn't teach them Bengali or English before admitting them outside. Totos living in Totopara primarily use Toto at home and Nepali outside, they have limited exposure to Bengali, and follow the language to interact with teachers only. The Padma Sree awardee of the village told me about his experience:

When Lutharine Missionaries admitted me in Rampur during 1970s, it took 6 months to understand the language and it took long to speak and write in the language. I couldn't interact with anyone in Bengali, then I realized if someone could translate me the subject matter into Toto, I could better understand.

A Toto student at Mahakalguri Mission High School, 72 km. away from Totopara was interviewed. He was in 9th standard then and couldn't interact with the researcher in Bengali though the language is followed in the school. Usually, Toto students cannot follow a particular language to read, write and speak even today. It made us realise it has been many years, still the struggle remains the same...

Sub-Theme 1.2: Infrastructure and Teacher's role

The government of West Bengal launched Utsashree Scheme on 2nd August, 2021, that enable school teachers to take transfers to schools near their home. There were 17 teachers in Dhanapati Toto Memorial High School, the only high school in Totopara before the scheme. But now only 5 teachers are working there and only 2 of them are permanent. When asked about the problems they were facing due to lack of teachers, students reported:

Classes are not taken in Physical Science and Life Science, though Bhuban Sir (local educated youth who is working there as a volunteer teacher) sometime takes Maths and English classes otherwise we have to take tuition teachers but all of us cannot afford it (During focus-group discussion, I found 3 out of 10 students take tuitions).

On the other hand, Toto students struggle to understand Bengali and none of the teachers understand Toto language so often their doubts remained unsolved. The Teacher-In-Charge of the school told me:

Nepali students are more developed than Totos while both of them have to face language issue as they mostly speak in Hindi but the school is Bengali medium.

In Poargaon ITDP Primary School, though there was a tap inside the school but it was found that some boys were carrying water from a nearby tap to the school for mid-day-meal. So, when I asked about it to one of the teachers who happens to be the only Toto teacher in the entire village, she told me:

The tap (inside the school) is connected with a nearby stream but the plastic pipes are broken somewhere. Though I have complained to the local authority and informed the DM office in Alipurduar but nothing works. Today DM Madam may visit here, often, they visit here and each time I informed them but no measures have been taken till date... (I had visited the school during Tunthungkamu festival and saw that many Government Officers came there to join the program on that particular date).

Sub-Theme 1.3: Career aspiration

Aspiration plays a significant role in the academic performance of a student and decide his success in life. We found the poor local Toto students are not much motivated specially the girls. The boys are quite doubtful and most girls haven't decided anything yet and they didn't have that courage in their eyes that they can do something in life before getting married. Here we should consider that aspiration is related to the parent's qualification, their expectations, guidance and more importantly their socio-economic condition, when the child don't have any inspirational figure around him and know well that their parents cannot afford to fulfil their dreams then he can't be ambitious in life.

However, I met few Toto students who study outside since their childhood, were more ambitious including the girls because they are well informed and know well that their parents can afford their big dreams. During my filed visit, I went to a coaching centre near Totopara bazar called "*Paraiwa Sha*," which means house of study, where I met many students. When I asked about their lack of motivation to the founder of the coaching centre, who graduated from Jadavpur University with History Hons. First, he agreed that students are not much motivated or confident, then he shared his view:

I think their base is very weak, they don't even understand simple Bengali words, how can you expect them to know about career options present-day. They are not well informed nor their parents, teachers working here don't understand them nor they understand what they (teachers) are saying. I think the government should initiate more workshops or awareness programmes to highlight career options as per our local needs.

Theme 2: Sociocultural and economic factors

Sociological factors are related to our cultural background, political involvement, neighbour's influence, social interaction, educational expenses etc. Here the following factors emerged from the transcripts.

Sub-Theme 2.1: Settlement pattern

One has to cross three large and eight small rivers without bridges to reach Totopara, showing the remoteness of the villages. The village is divided into six segments: Panchayetgaon, Mandalgaon, Subbagaon, Mitrangaon, Pujagaon and Dumchigaon. It was seen that Totos from Mitrangaon, Pujagaon and Dhumcigaon are economically not so sound compared to other three areas. Dutta (2014) and Majumder (1993) found the same. Mitrangaon is the most isolated one, with difficult access due to broken stairs and dense forest. Even the local people usually don't like to go there. They told the researcher multiple times not to visit there. This isolation hinders basic needs like schooling, healthcare, market access etc. and makes education a luxury. The first Toto woman graduate shared her experience, highlighting the challenges of accessing education in such areas.

The entire Totopara is backward whereas places like Dumchigaon, Mitragaon, Pujagaon are much backward than Panchayetgaon, Mondalgaon etc. because here (she means Panchayetgaon where she stays) we can easily access schools, market, bank, library, post office, hospital etc. Therefore, people near the Totopara bajar area are more educated, aware and developed. In Puja gaon, people are still having three or four children but here (where she stays) people are not having more than two children because we understand that more children will increase our poverty level...

Even the pharmacist of Totopara health centre said the same that people from backward areas do not visit the health centre as they follow traditional ayurvedic medicines or magico-religious practices. All the participants of this study were first-generation

learners from these regions. Though a few students were also found in I.T.D.P primary schools near Mitragaon and Pujagaon, who were first-generation learners.

Sub-Theme 2.2: Socio-economic condition

Long ago Totos were not allowed to stay elsewhere for more than seven days. Otherwise, they wouldn't be considered a Totos (Majumder, 1993; Roy Burman, 1959). Therefore, when their neighbouring communities were settling outside for better opportunities, Totos stuck to their small village only and maintained their simple lifestyle.

Case 1: When the Padmasree awardee was asked about the work preferences of Totos, he replied:

Those who did not complete studies and moved outside, were mainly working as daily labors in construction sites. They are preferring Sikkim nowadays.

And those who are staying here?

They are more into animal husbandry, agriculture and small business (Mainly small shops like grocery, meat, homemade alcohol called Eu).

What about women?

Some Toto women are also leaving Totopara and working in Siliguri, Kolkata, Delhi, Bangalore, Kerala many more places.

Case 2: When I asked to the current Panchayet of the village about their interest towards handicraft, he said:

Totos are not interested to learn handlooms from the initial days, even they learned shifting agriculture lately. Agriculture is not possible here due to soil condition and animals destroys our crops so we cultivate small amount of marua, kaon, different types of pulses, corn, sweet potato etc. However, now most of us have fully shifted to betel nut business and our betel nuts are very famous due to its quality, you will see everyone runs this business here. Otherwise, Toto youths mostly like head loading, for example if there is no road to carry cement, stone, sands etc. they will carry it on their heads. Although they have studied little bit, but they prefer to work from very small age rather than study.

In recent years very few Totos from the plain area started to develop economically due to their multidimensional occupations and very few have succeeded in different government sectors. Only those people are sending their children outside to study in private schools otherwise most of them still don't priorities education.

Sub-Theme 2.3: Political involvement

In order to get better infrastructure, a community should have more representation in politics and the administrative field, else, their problems remain unheard. Though Totopara is reserved for Totos but Nepalese are in majority there, including a few Biharis and Bengalis. The local Nepalese are more involved than Totos in politics including Nepali women as Asha S. Bomjan (one of the Nepali women from Totopara) is currently serving as the Chairperson of Madarihat-Birpara Panchayet Samiti since 2023.

- Case 1: When I asked about it to the current Toto Panchayet of the village, he replied,
 - I have seen Totos don't participate from the front side, they depend on others and request them to fulfil their needs, we cannot dominate or force others, we don't like violence or any kind of political clashes. Before me, few Totos have actively participated in local politics like Muktaram Toto, Ashoke Toto, Rabi Toto, Dinesh Toto etc.
- Case 2: The Padmasree awardee gave his perception here:
 - We are only 1600 people, Nepalese are in majority, around 2500-3000, how one of our representatives work with 4 members from different communities. We can only request to MLA and MPs, nothing else.
- Case 3: One of the aged Nepali participants who was Panchayet of the village from 1982 to 1987, told me in this regard,

 The first election under West Bengal took place in 1977, before that the Mandal (headman of the village) was the sole owner of the village. Later, the government officials from Jalpaiguri came here and abolished the system.

From the experience of working with them what we understood as researchers that Totos always relied on their traditional administrative system. Initially they didn't feel the need to join mainstream politics but now the situation has changed. Now some of them have realised that if there would be more representatives from Totos in politics and administrative fields, their age-old problems related to education, health and communication system could be solved.

Sub-Theme 2.4: Participation in community activities

Religious and cultural events promote our moral and ethnic values, enhance cultural awareness and provide historical knowledge. I have attended several religious and cultural events of Totos in the year 2024 such as *Denang Diwa*, *Wanchu*, *Goroiya*, *Mainka*, *Ngoyu*, *Guati*, *Tunthungksmu*, annual program etc.

Case 1: It was seen that they are very conservative about the religious festivals and they always obey their *Kaiji* or head priest and never questioned him. Though they observe these festivals in a very traditional way but few positive changes have been made like long ago they used to offer *Eu* to little kids during their religious or cultural events but now modern days soft drinks have replaced it.

Case 2: However, they are not conservative regarding the cultural events rather they are inventing new events, adopting Nepalese culture, even changed the colour of their traditional attire, using modern musical instrument etc. Nowadays many educated young Toto youths have created their own cultural group, where they write new songs on nature, God, old traditions, love relation etc. one such group is "Toto young group", one of the founders of this group told me:

Long ago Totos were allowed to sing and dance only during religious events, so our people were forgetting it due to lack of practices. Now we are trying to modify old songs and upload them on our YouTube channels to attract new generation.

Most Totos are also very poor, cannot afford to eat properly or cover themselves with warm clothes during winter. Under this circumstance it is not expected from them to work on their cultural aspects. Therefore, they are not much fond of traditional songs even they don't know the meaning of the songs. They usually perform with recorded songs without any traditional musical instruments or ornaments as was seen in Dooars Utsav (2025) in Alipurduar. Though lately they have started wearing their traditional attire during various events and started to include Toto songs during marriage ceremonies over Nepali songs, which is a positive change for revival of their culture.

Theme 3: Family related factors

Our upbringing depends on our parents. It determines how we will be in future. As researchers the need to emphasise on the role of Toto parents including their attitude towards their children's education as well as their household environment was felt.

Sub-Theme 3.1: Parental attitude and their involvement

During the visit in local schools as well as Toto households, it was found that most students, especially those with illiterate parents, received tutoring from a very young age from other sources. Educated Toto parents tend to send their children outside in residential schools like Cornerstone High School (Satali), P. C. Mittal High School (Satali), Mahakalguri Mission High School (Mahakalguri), Caesar School (Malbazar) etc.

Case 1: The teachers of Totopara Primary School, opposite to the high school, are experiencing two different types of parents. They said,

Those who are now in Pre-primary level, their parents are much conscious compared to those who are in 4/5 th standard. They just came to school and went to home, their parents never taught them, even sometime they don't change their school uniform also. They are much conscious about their agriculture as their lands are very far from their household, so they have to leave home very early in the morning and came back at evening.

They also noted a decrease in enrolment as most educated Toto parents are sending their children to private schools and are providing them extra tuition to ensure their admission in Nagrakata based Eklavya School run by Central government, where after 5th standard, each year 10 to 12 Toto students get direct admission as they belong to Primitive tribes.

Case 2: The scenario is not same in backward places of Totopara like Mitran Gaon, Dumchi Gaon and Puja gaon. Most of the students are first generation learners in these areas, so their parents are not much conscious about the importance of education. They mainly send their children to the local schools and after 10th board, they admit them in Madarihat High School. Whatever is the parent's education or their involvement, it was seen that most of parents don't pressurise their children rather they are supportive but less confident about the future and rely more on luck factor.

Sub-Theme 3.2: Household environment

Totos are very conservative in nature and usually they didn't let me into their houses rather they offered me chair to sit outside. Mostly they have some seating arrangement in their courtyard. In most Toto households, both men and women participate equally in discussions. While Toto women mostly remain silent as they are not fluent in Bengali. As they learn Bengali from schools and most of them have never attended schools or haven't completed primary education so they can't follow the language. Though during the interaction with their husbands, I often found them nodding with a shy smile that means they understand the conversation, sometimes they tend to communicate in Nepali and they always exchanged a smile. Though they freely interact with other Totos, Nepalese including the government staffs working there who understand Nepali well. When students were asked whether they participate in household chores or not (to understand their household gender dynamics) it was found that boys and girls both of them know basic household jobs like cooking, cleaning, washing dishes etc. as both of their parents either work in agriculture farm or the fathers work outside, so mothers have to take care of everything. Toto women are actively engaged in agriculture, family businesses, animal husbandry and so on, some Toto women are also working outside in beauty parlours, call centres etc. During Tunthungksmu festival and annual program, it was seen that many Toto women gave shops of their traditional foods like sel roti, marua roti, boiled sweet potato with their unique chatni including momo, fuchka, papad, pork fry and Eu. Few Toto women pursued tailoring or handicrafts from the nearby Lamps office, but they stopped practicing it as they were not earning much from such jobs. Totos are not allowed to opt for any permanent family planning as they belong to PVTG category, but they visit nearby private hospitals for tubectomy or vasectomy operations without revealing their actual identity as they don't want to take more than two or three children, Dutta (2014) and Majumder (1993) found the same respectively. It shows their awareness regarding child care and education as most of them are poor and more number of children will increase their poverty level. Totos are little orthodox, however, Toto women are really empowered in every sector. But due

to their poor literacy they can't help their children in studies which leads to a lag in their children's overall development, as mother is the first teacher of a child.

Conclusion and Suggestions

Some suggestions have been mentioned here to improve the present educational situation of Totopara.

- NEP 2020 has promised to promote tribal and endangered languages, emphasised on experiential learning with storytelling, sports integrated education. The medium of instruction would be home language or mother tongue till 8th grade and teachers will be encourage to follow bilingual approach. There are more than 700 ethnic groups in India and most of them don't have their own script so practically it's not possible to follow all of their mother tongue at school but the government could recruit educated Totos at least as guest teachers in the local schools so that they can translate the subject matter into their comfortable language. It would also resolve the problem of lack of teachers and inspire students to complete their education.
- The school curriculum must include local indigenous knowledge, their folk-stories, ayurvedic, craft, history, geography, sports etc. that will attract students.
- More NGOs should be involved for the better implementation of government policies to improve their socio-economic condition.
- Most importantly the government should build bridges at least on the three large rivers, it will solve half of their problems and connect them to opportunities.

Long ago Totos had to go elsewhere to get education, after so many years the situation has remained the same. Foreign contributors such as Lisa Davis and Toby Anderson helped their educational initiatives and script development. It shows they are not getting enough support from the government. Conversion is very common among tribes and the missionaries are often leveraging the community's vulnerabilities, such as alcohol addiction and financial struggles, by providing healthcare, education, and financial aid. If they receive quality education in their village, then they will not have to leave their home at a young age and they will not get de-touched from their root and culture. They can be culturally aware as well as highly educated and truly empowered.

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